THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN

PUBLISHED DAILY.

RATES OF ADVERTISING.

One square, three days.....$2 00
One square, four days.....2 50
One square, five days.....3 00
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Editorial notices 25 cents per line, each insertion. Local notices 25 cents per line, each insertion.

Advertisements coming under the heads of Wants, For Sale, For Rent, Lost and Found, one insertion, ten cents per line; subsequent insertions half price.

Nine lines nonpareil constitute a square.

Advertisements should be handed in before nine o'clock p. m.

The National Republican.

VOL. VI. WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., SATURDAY MORNING, MAY 12, 1866. NO. 141.

The Official Advertisements of all the Executive Departments of the Government are Published in this Paper by Authority of THE PRESIDENT.

LITERARY.

NEW BOOKS OF THE SEASON, PUBLISHED BY HARPER & BROTHERS, NEW YORK.

JAMES LOUIS PETIGRU: A Biographical Sketch. By William J. Grayson. With Steel Portrait. 12mo., Cloth, $1.50.

AGNES. A Novel. By Mrs. Oliphant, Author of "The Laird of Norlaw," "The Perpetual Curate," &c. 8vo., Paper, 75cents.

MAXWELL DREWITT. A Novel. By F. G. Trafford. 8vo., Paper, 25 cents.

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE CHINESE: With some account of their Religious, Governmental, Educational, and Business Customs and opinions. By Rev. Justus Doolittle, fourteen years Member of the American Board. With over 100 illustrations. In two volumes, 12mo., Cloth, Beveled Edges, $5.00.

PRISON LIFE IN THE SOUTH: at Richmond, Macon, Savannah, Charleston, Columbia, Charlotte, Raleigh, Goldsborough, and Andersonville, during the years 1864 and 1865. By A. O. Abbott, late Lieutenant 1st New York Dragoons. Illustrated. 12mo., Cloth, Beveled Edges, $2.00.

A NOBLE LIFE. By Miss Mulock, (Mrs. Craik,) Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman," "Christian's Mistake," "A Life for a Life," "Olive," "The Ogilvies," "The Head of the Family," &c. &c. 12mo., Cloth, $1.50.

GOVERNOR FOOTE ON THE WAR AND THE UNION. War of the Rebellion; or, Scylla and Charybdis. Consisting of Observations upon the Causes, Course, and Consequences of the late Civil War in the United States. By H. S. Foote. 12mo., Cloth, $2.50.

WIVES AND DAUGHTERS. By Mrs. Gaskell, Author of "Mary Barton," "Cranford," "Sylvia's Lovers," &c. &c. Cloth, $2 00; Paper, $1.50.

A WEEK'S BOOK OF ANATOMY, PHYSIOLOGY, AND HYGIENE. For the use of Schools and Families. By John C. Draper, M. D., Professor of Natural History and Physiology in the New York Free Academy, and Professor of Analytical Chemistry in the University of New York. With 120 illustrations. 8vo., Cloth, $1.75.

GUY DEVERELL. By J. S. Le Fanu, Author of "Uncle Silas," &c. 8vo., Paper, 50 cents.

Harper & Brothers will send any of the above Works by mail, postage paid, to any part of the United States, on receipt of the price.

The above-named works are for sale by HUDSON TAYLOR, of this city. apl

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 27, 1866.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

VOLUME 32, NUMBER 191.

NEW YORK, APRIL, 1866.

The present session of Congress cannot fail to be in many respects the most momentous in the history of our Government. In accordance with requests repeatedly urged from many quarters, the Editors of the Magazine will extend the "MONTHLY RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS," so as to present a full account of the prominent measures proposed, the arguments by which they shall be advocated and opposed, and the final action taken in respect to them, with abstracts of all important documents which will hereafter form a part of the history of the great crisis through which the nation is passing. It will be the aim of the writer of the Record to present a fair statement of facts and of the expressed opinions of representative men; not to set forth his own views.

The extension of a particular Department will in no wise affect the general scope of the Magazine, which will continue to be devoted to Literature, Social Improvement and Art. Ample arrangements have been made, with old and new contributors, for furnishing matter in every department.

TERMS FOR HARPER'S MAGAZINE AND WEEKLY:

Each number of Harper Magazine contains from fifty to one hundred per cent. more matter than any other American magazine issued at the same price, and nearly double the quantity contained in the popular British magazines, such as the "Cornhill," "Temple Bar," and "London Society;" and seventy-five per cent. more than the half-crown British Magazines, such as "Blackwood," "Fraser," and the "Dublin University."

Harper's Magazine, one copy for one year.....$4 00
Harper's Weekly, one copy for one year.....4 00

An extra copy of either the Weekly or the Magazine will be supplied gratis to every club of five subscribers at $4 each, in one remittance, or six copies for $20.

Bound volumes of the Magazine, each volume containing the numbers for six months, will be furnished for $2 per volume, and sent by mail, postage paid. Bound volumes of the Weekly, each volume containing the numbers for one year, will be furnished for $7, freight by express paid, the weight of the volumes being beyond that allowed in the mail.

*** A limited number of advertisements will be inserted in the Magazine at the following rates: One page, $250; one-half page, $125; one-quarter page, $75. The circulation of the Magazine is larger than that of any similar periodical in the world. Advertisements will also be inserted in the Weekly at $1.50 a line on the inside, and $2 a line on the outside, for each insertion; where advertisements are displayed, the charge will be for the number of solid lines contained in the space which is occupied.

*** The postage on the Magazine is now 24 cents a year, and the Weekly 20 cents a year, payable quarterly, semi yearly, or yearly, at the office where received.

Subscribers to the MAGAZINE and WEEKLY will find on each wrapper the number with which their subscription expires, as entered upon our books. In renewing a subscription, it is desired that the number with which it is to commence should be stated. The name of the subscriber, and full address, including County and State, should be distinctly written. Thus—"Renew subscription to [Magazine or Weekly] commencing with Number ——, John Adams, Jackson, Pike county, Ohio."

In changing the direction, the old as well as the new address should be given. Thus—"Change address of [Magazine or Weekly] from John Adams, Jackson, Pike county, Ohio, to Mary Adams, Franklin, Allegheny county, Penn."

The Magazine and Weekly are always stopped when the term of subscription expires. It is not necessary to give notice of discontinuance.

The volumes of the Magazine commence with the Numbers for June and December of each year. Subscriptions may commence with any number. When no time is specified, it will be understood that the subscriber wishes to begin with the first number of the current Volume, and back numbers will be sent accordingly.

The Volumes of the Weekly commence with the year. When no time is specified, it will be understood that the subscriber wishes to commence with the Number next after the receipt of his order.

Back numbers of both Magazine and Weekly can always be supplied.

In remitting by mails Post-Office Orders or a Draft upon New York, *payable to the order of Harper & Brothers*, is preferable to bank notes, as, should the Order or Draft be lost or stolen, it can be renewed without loss to the sender.

HUDSON TAYLOR.

For sale by

A NEW POEM BY WHITTIER!

TICKNOR & FIELDS

PUBLISHED FEBRUARY 17,

SNOW-BOUND:

A WINTER IDYL.

By JOHN G. WHITTIER,

Author of "Maud Muller," etc., etc.

In one beautifully printed volume, with a fine Portrait of the Author, and an illustration of his Birthplace, the scene of the Poem. Price, $1.25.

Nothing that has ever appeared from our favorite New England poet will have a closer home interest than this admirable production. It tells the story of his own boy-life amid the hardships and privations of that stormy season of the year, so full of vicissitude and danger to the dwellers on our rocky coast. Thousands of readers will thank snow the poet who can make them feel

"The winter joys their boyhood knew."

With Whittier's own beautiful lines at the close of the poem, all those who peruse Snow-Bound cannot fail to sympathize:

"And dear and early friends—the few
Who yet remain—shall pause to view
These Flemish pictures of old days;
Sit with me by the homestead hearth,
And stretch the hands of memory forth
To warm them at the wood fire's blaze!
And thanks untracked to lips unknown
Shall greet me like the odors blown
From unseen meadows newly mown,
Or lilies floating in some pond,
Wood-fringed, the wayside gaze beyond;
The traveller owns the grateful sense
Of sweetness near, he knows not whence,
And, passing, takes with forehead bare
The benediction of the air."

BOOKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

COUPON BONDS. By J. T. Trowbridge. Reprinted from the *Atlantic Monthly*. Paper, 25 cents.

THE FERRIERS'S BOOK. By L. Maria Child. 1 vol. 16mo. $1.25.

LITTLE FOXES. By Harriet Beecher Stowe. 1 vol. 16mo. $1.75.

A SUMMER IN SKYE. By Alexander Smith. 1 vol. 16mo. $1.75.

WAR LYRICS. By Henry Howard Brownell. 12vo. 16mo. $1.50.

PATRIOT BOYS AND PRISON PICTURES. By Edmund Kirke. Illustrated. 1 vol. 16mo. $1.50.

WINNING HIS WAY. By S. Carleton. Illustrated. 1 vol. 16mo. $1.25.

HEREWARD; OR, THE LAST OF THE ENGLISH. By Charles Kingsley. 1 vol. 12mo. $1.75.

DICTIONARY OF NOTED NAMES OF FICTION; Including Familiar Pseudonyms, Surnames bestowed on Eminent Men, etc. 1 vol. 12mo. $2.50.

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LIFE AND LETTERS OF REV. F. W. ROBERTSON, 2 vols. 12mo. $4.

NEW EDITIONS NOW READY.

SERMONS. By Rev. F. W. Robertson. 5 vols. 12mo. $1.50 each. Sold separately or in sets.

WILHELM MEISTER. Translated by Thomas Carlyle. With fine Portrait of Goethe. 2 vols. 12mo. $3.50.

HISTORY, THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH. By George B. Prescott. With 100 Engravings. $2.50.

*** Any of the above Books sent, post-paid, to any address on receipt of advertised price.

TICKNOR & FIELDS, Publishers,
124 Tremont street, Boston.

The above-named works are for sale at the Bookstore of HUDSON TAYLOR. apl

PROPOSALS.

MAYOR'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, May 4, 1866.

Proposals will be received at this office until 12 o'clock, m., on TUESDAY, May 15th, instant, for grading Twelfth street west, from N street north to the boundary line, or so much thereof as the Mayor may direct.

Bidders will state the price per cubic yard for cutting and filling; only that which measures most to be paid for.

The surplus dirt, if any, to be deposited wherever the Commissioner may direct, if it should require any dirt to make up deficiencies, it shall be also taken from where the Commissioner may direct.

No part of the appropriation will be paid until the work is approved by the Commissioner and Assistant Commissioners.

JAMES W. SPALDING,
Commissioner Second Ward.

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UNITED STATES MILITARY RAILROADS.

OFFICE OF ASSISTANT QUARTERMASTER, 250 G Street,
WASHINGTON, D. C., April 26, 1866.

Sealed Proposals will be received at this office until 12 m., MONDAY, May 21, for the purchase from the United States of all the Iron Work for stationary spans of "Howe's Improved Truss Bridges," consisting of the Rods, Plates, Bolts, and Dowels suitable for the different spans, the latter varying in length from eighty to one hundred and forty-one feet.

The iron is now stored at the works of the Cleveland Rolling Mill Company, Cleveland, Ohio, and will be sold by the pound.

A detailed bill of the iron, and length of the spans, may be obtained on application at this office.

Terms: Cash, in Government funds.

The United States reserves the right to reject all bids, if not deemed advantageous.

Proposals should be endorsed "Proposals for the Purchase of Bridge Iron."

F. J. CRILLY,
Bvt. Major and A. Q. M.,
U. S. Army.

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SALE OF GOVERNMENT LUMBER.

CHIEF QUARTERMASTER'S OFFICE, DEPOT OF WASHINGTON,
WASHINGTON, D. C., May 8, 1866.

Sealed proposals will be received at this office until MONDAY, May 21, 1866, at 12 o'clock m., for the purchase of 845,000 feet of Government Lumber, of the following sizes and descriptions, viz:

18 000 feet 1½-inch Oak.
100,000 feet 2-inch Oak.
100,000 feet 2½-inch Oak.
120 000 feet 3-inch Oak.
10,000 feet 3½-inch Oak.
75,000 feet 4-inch Oak.
10,000 feet 5-inch Oak.
10,000 feet 2-inch Hickory.
6,000 feet 3-inch Hickory.
14,000 feet 4-inch Hickory.
20,000 feet 1½-inch Ash.
74 000 feet 2-inch Ash.
80,000 feet 3-inch Ash.
90,000 feet 4-inch Ash.
20,000 feet 5-inch Ash.
3,000 feet ¾-inch Pine.
24,000 feet ¾-inch Pine.
37,000 feet 1-inch Pine.
25,000 feet ¾-inch Poplar.
13,000 feet 1-inch Poplar.

The above is a very superior lot of well-seasoned Lumber, and can be seen by applying to Brevet Colonel C. M. Tompkins, Q. M., quartermaster in charge at Lincoln Depot, about one mile east of the Capitol.

Bids will be received for the purchase of ten thousand feet and upward. The undersigned reserves the right to reject all the bids should they be considered too low.

Payment (in Government funds) will be required upon notification of acceptance of bid, and prior to the delivery of the Lumber, which must be removed within fifteen days after the proposal is accepted.

Proposals should be signed with the bidder's full name, and give his post office address, and read "Proposals for the Purchase of Lumber," and directed to

D. H. RUCKER,
Brevet Maj. Gen. and Chief Quartermaster,
my4-14t Depot of Washington.

PROPOSALS FOR ERECTING A BUILDING FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGINEERING ON THE NAVAL ACADEMY GROUNDS AT ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, April 21, 1866.

Sealed proposals, endorsed "Proposals for erecting a Building for the Department of Engineering on the Naval Academy Grounds at Annapolis, Maryland," will be received at this office until 12 o'clock, m., on the 12th day of May next, at which hour the bids will be opened for furnishing all the materials and workmanship necessary for the erection and completion of a building according to the plans and specifications to be seen at the Navy Department, or at the Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland.

Bidders will be required to state the amount for which they will furnish all materials and complete the building according to the plans and specifications, and in all respects ready for occupation. They are requested to name the time in which they will engage to complete the work.

If upon examination of the plans and specifications it should appear that modifications can be made leading to lessen the cost of the building without impairing its strength or durability, bidders are invited to suggest such modifications, and to state the amount for which they will complete the building if such modifications are adopted; that is, they can bid according to the plans and specifications, and also according to such modifications as they may think proper to suggest.

Such modifications must not involve any change in the dimensions of the building or in the particular arrangement of rooms as shown on the plans.

Each bid must be accompanied by good and sufficient guarantee, approved by an officer of the Government known to this Department, that the bidder will, if his offer be accepted, enter into contract to perform the work according to his bid, and the Department reserves the right to reject any or all the bids, as the interest of the Government may require.

THORNTON A. JENKINS,
Chief of Bureau of Navigation.

ap24-MWSw

PROPOSALS FOR MAIL BAGS.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., April 13, 1866.

SEALED PROPOSALS will be received at this Department until nine o'clock, a. m., the 4th day of June next, for furnishing during the period of one year, from and after the 1st day of July, 1866, such quantities of the following kind of Mail Bags as may from time to time be required and ordered, to wit:

JUTE CANVAS MAIL SACKS.

Of size No. 1, 48 inches in length and 62 inches in circumference; of size No. 2, 41 inches in length and 48 inches in circumference; of size No. 3, 32 inches in length and 38 inches in circumference.

The sacks of size No. 1 are to be made of closely-woven jute canvas, weighing not less than sixteen ounces to the yard, of 39½ inches in width; the yarns of the warp to be each doubled and twisted, and to weigh one ounce to about 84 yards, and of the filling or weft, if not like those of the warp, to weigh one ounce to about eighty-five yards.

The sacks of size No. 2 are to be made of jute canvas, weighing not less than eleven ounces to the yard, of 34½ inches width; the warp and weft to be nearly as above described.

The sacks of size No. 3 are to be made of thinner jute canvas, weighing not less than four and a half ounces to the yard, of 19½ inches width.

Those of size No. 1 and No. 2 are to be made with a tabling or hem at the top two inches wide, upon which a sufficient number of eyelet holes—at least ten to the former and eight to the latter—are to be well wrought, and they are each to be provided with a good and sufficient hemp cord to lace and tie them thoroughly and strongly. Unless seamless, they are to be made with two seams, secured each with two rows of sewing. All are to be marked inside and outside "United States Mail," in large and distinct letters.

Any proposed improvement that may be desirable in the quality of materials, whether of jute, flax, or cotton, or in the manner of construction, will be considered relatively to price in deciding the lowest and best bid.

No proposal will be considered if not accompanied with specimens showing the construction and quality of materials and workmanship of each size of the sacks bid for, and also a written guaranty from the persons proposed as sureties (whose responsibility must be certified by the postmaster of the place where they reside) that they will become responsible on sufficient bond for the due performance of the contract in case such proposal be accepted.

The sacks contracted for are to be delivered at the expense of the contractor, at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, D. C., in such quantities and at such times as may be ordered.

The estimated quantity required will probably not exceed thirty thousand sacks, including all sizes; but the Postmaster General will reserve the right to order and receive more or less than such quantity, during the term of the contract, as the wants and interests of the service may seem to him to demand.

The specimens must be delivered at this Department on or before the 4th day of June next, and every one submitted should be well and distinctly marked with the number depoting its size, and have attached to it a sample of the cloth or canvas (six inches square) of which it is made. Such as can with safety and convenience be used in the service will be paid for at the prices specified in the proposals relating thereto.

A decision on the bids will be made on or before the 9th day of June next, and the accepted bidder will be required to enter into contract, with sufficient bond and security, on or before the 1st day of July, 1866.

*** The proposals should be transmitted in a sealed envelope, and endorsed "Proposals for Mail Bags," and be addressed to "The Second Assistant Postmaster General, Contract Office, Washington, D. C."

W. DENNISON,
Postmaster General.

ap14-wtw

MAYOR'S OFFICE, CITY HALL,
WASHINGTON, D. C., May 1, 1866.

Proposals will be received until 12 o'clock, m., on the 15th instant, for grading Bryant street south, from Pennsylvania avenue to Seventh street east.

The surplus earth, if any, must be deposited wherever the Commissioner may direct.

Bidders will state the price per cubic yard for grading.

R. R. BARNES,
Commissioner of Fifth Ward.
W. A. FLETCHER,
Commissioner of Sixth Ward.

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WRAPPING PAPER FOR SALE AT the office of the DAILY NATIONAL REPUBLICAN.

THE TRIAL OF REBELS.

POLITICAL SLANDERS REFUTED.

Speech of Senator Doolittle.

We copy below a large portion of the very able speech made by Mr. DOOLITTLE, of Wisconsin, in the Senate, Thursday afternoon:

Now, I ask the honorable Senator and those who stand with him, is it advisable for the President of the United States to put Jeff. Davis on his trial, when you are sure you cannot get a jury; when, if you put him to his trial, he will be acquitted? Which is the best policy? I wish to have done with this eternal clamor and denunciation against the Executive for not bringing these men to trial. There is not, and there never was, and never can be conceived a charge so utterly groundless and without the shadow of a foundation as this charge brought against the Administration for not bringing these men to judgment.

That is one point in the honorable Senator's discourse of to-day to which I call attention. There is another point. He is denouncing the President for the exercise of the pardoning power. There are thousands and thousands of these men unpardoned. All the great leaders of the rebellion are still unpardoned—not merely the five or six whom the Senator would bring to judgment, but thousands upon thousands. They are to be found everywhere throughout the South. If he can conceive a mode in which to bring them to trial, if he can aid in bringing them to trial, he will perform a better service, perhaps, than in denouncing the Executive for not endeavoring to do what is both impossible and absurd for him to undertake to do in the present state of the case. The responsibility rests not upon the Executive; nor do I rest under the responsibility of this charge. I have done all that I could do to secure the enactment of a statute which alone will authorize any of these men to be put upon trial.

It is sometimes charged that the men who were engaged in the military service, the officers of the rebel army, Gen. Lee and others, might have been tried by a court-martial and executed. Who does not know that the very terms of surrender on which the rebel soldiers laid down their arms provided expressly that if they went to their homes and kept the peace and obeyed the laws and the Constitution of the country they should not be disturbed by the military authorities? Who does not know that when an attempt was made to indict General Lee, and the question was referred to General Grant for decision, who made the negotiation with him, that General Grant spurned the idea that under the stipulations of that treaty General Lee was to be disturbed as long as he obeyed the conditions of the stipulation. I say again, banish from this Senate, banish from every assemblage of honorable men this clamor against the Administration for not trying and executing the men who have been engaged in this rebellion.

But the honorable Senator—I wish he were here—says, and repeats it, "Where is Clement C. Clay? Paroled; permitted to go to his home in Alabama." I could turn him to the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Wilson] to answer where is Clement C. Clay, and why he was paroled. I have here the recently-published letter of that Senator. I bring no charge against the Senator from Massachusetts for writing this letter which I am about to read, for he has become a convert to the new theory of reconstruction invented by the other Senator from Nevada, [Mr. Stewart,] to wit, that of universal amnesty.

"UNITED STATES SENATE CHAMBER."

Yes, sir, from this very Chamber, within a few feet of where stood the Senator who at the top of his voice asked "Where is Clement C. Clay," went forth the letter of appeal from the Senator from Massachusetts for his release:

"UNITED STATES SENATE CHAMBER,
WASHINGTON, March 3, 1866.

"SIR: Mrs. Clay, the wife of Clement C. Clay, is now in the city, and has requested me to obtain permission for her husband to go to his home on parole. His father is said to be at the point of death, his mother recently deceased, and, if there be no objections or reasons unknown to me why the request of Mrs Clay should be denied, I have no hesitation in recommending its favorable consideration, if only from motives of humanity, as I have no doubt Mr. Clay will be forthcoming when his presence is again required by the Government.

"I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant, H. WILSON.

"TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES."

There is an answer to the question. The chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs of this body, in the humanity of his nature, for which I do not reproach him, made this powerful appeal to the President of the United States that Clay should be released upon parole, and pledged, so far as he could pledge himself for the honor of Mr. Clay, that he would return whenever the exigencies or the demands of the Government required it. I say, then, away with this denunciation against the Executive because he has permitted this man, from humanity's sake, to go upon his parole to the State of Alabama.

Mr. President, there seems to be a strange division in the opposition to the Republican Administration arising here in Congress; and I presume gentlemen will take no offence if I should classify this division that seems to spring up. First and foremost in Congress is that distinguished and veteran old leader, a Representative from Pennsylvania, who leads one branch of this distracted opposition now making war upon the Republican party. I refer to Hon. Thaddeus Stevens. He is the leader and chieftain of what I will denominate the universal confiscation party. In this body stands the acknowledged leader of another wing of the opposition to the Republican party in the person of the honorable Senator from Massachusetts, [Mr. Sumner,] which may be denominated the universal negro suffrage party. Then there is still another branch of this distracted opposition, of which I may say the honorable Senator from Nevada who has just taken his seat is the leader and chieftain—the hanging party. And last, but not least, comes that new party which, so far as I know, has yet obtained in this body but one recruit—the party which is led by the other Senator from Nevada, [Mr. Stewart]—the universal amnesty and universal suffrage party.

We see these parties distracted, arrayed against each other in opposition to the policy of the Republican party which Mr. Johnson inherited from the Administration that went before him.

"Black spirits and white,
Red spirits and grey;
Mingle, mingle, mingle,
You that mingle may."

Now, Mr. President, I will turn to another point. The Senator from Nevada denounces me, as well as the honorable gentleman who sits beside me, [Mr. Cowan,] because we sustain here what are denominated State rights. Sir, I do stand here to defend State rights—not State wrongs, but the rights which do belong to the States under the Constitution; not a right to secede from the Union, not a right to break up the Government, not a right to overthrow the authority of the Government and form a new Government; but the rights which the Constitution does secure are just as sacred to me as any other right for which my heart ever aspired or my voice has ever pleaded. I tell you, sir—and that, in my judgment, is the great mistake of the men who are continually straining every nerve to centralize all power here in the Federal Government—I tell you, if it were the last word I ever uttered, that unless we can defend the rights of the States, it is in vain to hope that we can defend the rights of any individual citizen who resides within the States. For the great mass of human rights, the rights which I have in my family, in my wife, in my children, in my home, in all my surroundings, in my reputation, in my person, in all the great rights which I hold dear, I find my protection in the power and independence of the State in which I live. It is Wisconsin which defends my wife, my children, my homestead, all those near and dear liberties that cluster around and make life on earth desirable. The Federal Government defends Wisconsin from aggressions from abroad. The Federal Government defends Wisconsin in the enjoyment of free and unrestricted commerce and liberty with the other States of the Union. But, sir, when it comes home to the liberties of the individual citizen, I tell you that State rights, and State rights alone, are their protection; and the man who overlooks it does not understand the very foundation on which our liberties rest.

Sir, while I would give to this Government every power which the Constitution gives, while I am willing to sacrifice all that I have and all that I am to maintain its supremacy, I tell you with just as much earnestness that I am for defending the rights of the States under the Constitution from being aggressed and encroached upon by the insidious legislation of Congress. Let no man, therefore, stand up to charge me with believing in the doctrine of secession. The right to secede is not one of the rights of the States; but it is one of the rights of the States to defend and control their own domestic institutions. I say to gentlemen here who are pressing every nerve to concentrate all power in this Government that they are sleeping on a political volcano of which they form no conception—a volcano that will sweep them and the party that they sustain out of power, if they continue to trespass upon the rights of the States, with as much certainty, and consign them to as much condemnation as the old Federal party of 1800 ever received at the hands of the American people.

Sir, to defend the rights of the States is our great duty now. We have fought the battle for the Union. We have crushed all opposition to its supremacy. We have compelled every armed rebel to ground his arms and submit to its authority. All the war forces and war enginery of this great Government are waked up and are in full play. The train is made up, the engines are in motion, and all the danger is that now that the war which waked up these forces to engage in it have ceased, now that peace has come, we must still keep the war engines on the track, and the war powers in full operation.

In my judgment, that is the great mistake which the honorable Senator from Nevada makes. He does not realize that the war has ceased. He is still making war on the South. He is still denouncing them as rebels. He is still firing the Northern heart and treating them as if they were still in arms against the Government. Sir, that is not the duty of this hour. I know very well that when we were in the midst of this great war that with whatever force of language or of sentiment or of thought I have been endowed I have urged upon the people when the war was pending to wake up all these tremendous powers. I remember on one occasion to have used this language, on the 9th of February, 1864:

"War and not peace is our real situation. Whatever may have produced this state of things, war is upon us with all its necessities, with all its realities, with all its stern duties, and we must fight it through. At this hour, whatever will give strength to our armies in the field and bring revenue to support them, demands the first consideration of Congress and of every department of this Government. If left to me I would speak but one word, fill up the ranks, press on the columns. To spare the unnecessary shedding of blood; to save the resources of the country; to solve all financial questions, and put our credit upon a basis so strong as to command the money of the world, I would speak no other word but 'Fill up the ranks, press on the columns.' To secure liberty and Union; to secure peace with all the other nations by inspiring them with respect; and to put a final end to that conspiracy, founded on slavery, which makes war against us, I would still say, as the most radical and at the same time the most certain of all measures, 'Fill up the ranks, press on the columns.'"

That, sir, was the language of myself as a humble member of this body when we were in the midst of war, when blows were to be struck and victories to be won or all to be lost. That was the language when I could feel in my soul that the very life of this country depended upon the many arms of her sons; whether the country was to live or die depended on whether we could crush the military force of the rebellion. Sir, we have crushed it, in the blessing of God, we have broken it down; it has surrendered; and now what is our condition? Peace. What are our victories now to be won? Moral victories. Then it was military victories, the war of forces; now it is a war of mind with mind, heart with heart, judgment with judgment, sentiment with sentiment, prejudices to be overcome, hearts to be warmed into affection to the Government; and the man who does not know that in a moral warfare magnanimity is more powerful than denunciation, that love is more attractive and powerful than hatred, knows nothing of the human heart. He has not read history, he has not studied statesmanship, he knows nothing of Christianity or of its divine teachings, who does not know that a fallen, stricken foe, surrendering to your power, is better governed by magnanimity than by vengeance, by love than by hate.

But, say these gentlemen, the President is abusing the power to pardon. I have in my hand one of the forms of this instrument which is executed as a pardon. It is executed upon conditions, and the conditions which are imposed have commanded the judgment and the admiration of the world. Sir Morton Peto—if my honorable friend from Massachusetts will allow me to quote a titled authority—Sir Morton Peto, when he returned from this country to Europe, spoke of the conditions which were contained in this instrument of pardon upon which the rebels renewed or declared their renewal of allegiance to the Government as a thing which would challenge the admiration of mankind. One would think, standing here and listening to the arguments of gentlemen like the Senator from Nevada, that we were in the court of St. Petersburg dealing with Poland, or that we were in the court of some of the tyrannical kings of England dealing with Ireland. "Confiscation!" "Hanging!" "Infernal rebels—give them no terms and no quarter!" "They are no longer to be regarded as worthy of the name of an American citizen," though they have surrendered, taken the oath of allegiance, laid down their arms, and for months and months, and for a whole year or more have shown by their acts and by their conduct that they are determined to live at peace and in subjection to the laws of the United States; and so well have they behaved that even the Senator himself, with all the vengeance to which he could give utterance, declares here, when I put the question to him and brought him to the point, that he himself would not try but five or six.

I will just refer to one or two of the conditions which are contained in the pardon. The President grants to an individual:

"Full pardon and amnesty for all offences by him committed, arising from participation, direct or implied, in the said rebellion, conditioned as follows:

"1. This pardon to be of no effect until the said A B shall take the oath prescribed in the proclamation of the President, dated May 29, 1865."

And, sir, what is that oath? It is an oath which the party solemnly swears—

"In presence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the union of the States thereunder, and that I will in like manner abide by and faithfully support all laws and proclamations which have been made during the existing rebellion with reference to the emancipation of slaves. So help me God."

Every man who accepts this pardon takes it upon condition that he will support the emancipation proclamation of the President of the United States and all the laws of Congress passed in relation to the emancipation of the slaves. This binds them by the express condition of the pardon itself. If they violate it, if they refuse to obey those laws, if for any reason they shall violate this oath, not only the crime of moral perjury rests upon them, but the pardon itself becomes absolutely void. What further, Mr. President? This pardon contains another condition, that it is "to be void and of no effect if the said A B shall hereafter at any time acquire any property whatever in slaves or make use of slave labor."

The great majority of these pardons were issued before the constitutional amendment had been adopted by a number of States sufficient to ratify it. Bear in mind that the great object, one of the very greatest objects in view in the closing up of this rebellion was the utter extirpation of slavery; and every man who took a pardon bound himself to favor the proclamation of emancipation and bound himself never to own any slave labor or to buy or sell a slave. This was binding them in advance of the passage of the constitutional amendment. I undertake to say that no wiser, more politic, or more efficient instrumentality could be used in the southern States than to bind the men who sought pardon to favor emancipation and the emancipation proclamations and the extinction of slavery. Sir, to whom were these pardons given? Generally to those men who have property. If a man living in a State where slavery existed is not permitted himself to own slaves, does he desire that the institution of slavery should exist around him? Not at all. It makes it his interest, his policy, as well as his sworn duty, to do all in his power to extirpate slavery, what we were trying to do. Men are denouncing the President of the United States for doing the very thing for which we had been struggling in this contest, denouncing the pardons given by the President when they were the greatest instrumentality to influence that people and operate upon the minds of that people to bring them to favor the emancipation of the slaves and the adoption of this very constitutional amendment.

I say, then, let us hear no more of this denunciation here because the Executive, in the exercise of that high power with which the Constitution has clothed him, has used his power in the most potent way possible to destroy the institution of slavery, at the same moment that he was binding them by oath, by interest, and by duty to support the Government of the United States.

Every pardon was accepted by the person receiving it upon these express conditions. I have before me the form of acceptance addressed to the Secretary of State:

Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State:

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the President's warrant of pardon bearing date ——, 186.., and hereby signify my acceptance of the same, with all the conditions therein specified.

There is one other point in the Senator's speech to which I wish to call attention. He has repeated here, time and time again during his discourse, that the purpose on our part who sustain the policy of the Administration is to bring immediately into the halls of Congress unwashed, bloody-handed rebels, with their skirts yet smoking with the blood of our sons. Mr. President, I hurl back the charge as utterly unfounded. There is no man here sustaining the policy of the Administration that has ever avowed any such doctrine as that. The immediate admission of unwashed rebels! No, sir; no!

It has been charged again and again, the newspaper press has been loaded down with these infamous falsehoods, for infamous they are, in charging upon the President or his supporters that it was their purpose to bring into Congress rebels to rule the Government. It is utterly false. But what have they contended for? They have contended that Congress should judge, the Senate for itself, the House of Representatives for itself, upon the admission of its members. My friend upon the right [Mr. Sumner] smiles as I refer to this argument. It is an argument which he never has met and never can meet. I say that the Senate of the United States, under the Constitution, is made the sole judge when a person coming to its doors shall enter or shall not. I say that the President of the United States has no more to do with that question than the judges of the Supreme Court, and I would spurn any attempt by either President or court to overrule the Senate in its judgment on that question.

Sir, I put the case not long ago in reference to the State of Maine; I will call it again to the attention of the Senate. It is necessary sometimes that things be repeated and repeated again and again. What was the case I put? A State may be interrupted by civil war or foreign war. If we were engaged with a war with England, her forces might come down the river St. John, perhaps, advance into the State of Maine, and capture a portion of the State, as she once did in the war of 1812. Suppose she should capture one of the congressional districts, could that district elect a member to the House of Representatives? No, sir. Suppose she should capture two, could those districts elect members to the House of Representatives? Not at all. Maine has five congressional districts. If Great Britain should capture all but one, could that one elect a member to the House of Representatives? Although foreign war had overrun four fifths of the State, four of the five congressional districts, still that one district would be entitled to its representation in the Congress of the United States. How would it be with the Senate? If the enemy should capture one district or two districts, Maine could still elect a Legislature; but suppose she was to capture four of the five districts of Maine, could Maine elect a Legislature? Nor, sir; Maine could not elect a Legislature. If she could not elect a Legislature, she could not elect a Senator. Could not the Senate judge of the fact whether Maine was in a condition to elect a Legislature, whether there was a Legislature to elect a Senator, as well as judge whether the Senator had been elected according to the forms of law? So, in such a case as that, Maine might be entitled to a Representative in the House of Representatives when she would not be entitled to a Senator in this body.

It is just so with a civil commotion or civil war. A civil war may disturb one district in a State so that it cannot elect a Representative, and yet the other districts may. When they had a rebellion in Massachusetts long ago, and one of their congressional districts was overrun, perhaps it was so disturbed that they could not elect a member of Congress at that election, while all the other districts might. So if a whole State should be overrun by a civil commotion, it might not be in a condition to elect a Legislature at all. Could not the Senate judge of that? The Senate has the right to judge whether there is a Legislature to elect a Senator, and the supreme judgment is given to this body, and it does not belong to the other House, and it does not belong to the President, and it does not belong to the Supreme Court; and I would no more regard the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House than I would regard the marshal of the Supreme Court, or than I would regard the private secretary of the President, if they should come here to tell us whom we should admit or whom we should exclude. No, sir, we by the Constitution are made the supreme judges of the fact whether Senators are elected, whether there is a Legislature to elect them.

The Cholera.

The consulting physicians of Boston, in a communication to the City Council, recommended the following as a summary of safe and expedient measures to be adopted for protection against the attack of cholera:

1. *Tranquility of Mind.*—Fear is among the prolific causes of attack of this disease. Mental agitation and undue excitement of all kinds are prejudicial to health, and if an apprehension of this disease should spread through the community and amount to a public panic, it would be an open invitation for it to come—an invitation which it is ever ready to accept. Let every one dismiss all apprehension of taking the disease from contagion, and faithfully and fearlessly perform all duties toward the sick to which they are called by affection, friendship or humanity.

2. *Occupation in Customary Business.*—For which there need be no interruption, whether the pursuit be professional, mechanical or laborious. By furnishing a healthy and happy engagement of body and mind another door is closed against the intruder.

3. *Strict Temperance.*—It is not recommended to make any great and sudden change by those who have been accustomed to the use of wines, or who have required a small amount of alcoholic drink as a stimulant. But it is well to take great care that the amount of such should be reduced to the minimum of what is presumed to be required for the promotion of health. Intemperance in eating, although not so obvious in its effects as in drinking, is quite as productive, from its very general prevalence, of disorder and disease. There can hardly be a more important direction than that the food should be simple and nutricious in quality, moderate in quantity, and taken with stated regularity. It cannot be necessary to say that taking alcoholic drinks freely to keep off the cholera is but the fool's excuse for self-indulgence, and a sure way to induct the disease.

4. *Attention to Diet.*—If the epidemic disease proves to be slight in its extension, or mild in character, there need be no change required by those who are already prudent in diet, while all others are advised that they too should become so. But should it be more general and severe, or accompanied by a general tendency in the community to disorder of the bowels, it will become important to restrict the food to such articles as are least likely to irritate the digestive organs, the seat of the disease. For this purpose fresh meat, of which beef, mutton, poultry, and veal of sufficient maturity, are best, and fish which is perfectly fresh, together with the more digestible and nutricious vegetables, as potato, rice, squash, tender green peas, hominy, arrowroot, sago, tapioca